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A

LETTER,

TO A

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FRIEND,

BIBL. CANT. ACAD.

IN

ANSWER to a *LETTER*

Written against

Mr. LOWTH,

By Rob. Grove D.D. Supra p. 513.

IN

DEFENCE

OF

Dr. Stillingfleet.

by Dr Lowth of Cotsmall Blene.

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A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

IN

ANSWER to a *LETTER*

Written againſt

Mr. LOWTH.

SIR,

YOU ſeem to be much concern'd, that ſuch conſiderable Members of the Church of *England* ſhould be whetting their Pens againſt each other, whilſt they are incloſed with their Adverſaries: And I think every good Man will bear a part with you; and doth heartily wiſh, that there had been no occaſion, or that it could be taken away. But ſince you require my thoughts concerning the late Anſwerer of Mr. *Lowth*'s Letter, I will anſwer your Requeſt with as much brevity and impartiality as my mean skill will enable me: The Man wants not wit, but indulgeth it ſo far, as to renounce both Civility and Reaſon, good Manners and Religion. I had peruſed his Letter with the ſame pleaſure I read a Play, or hear a Prevaricator's

Speech, but that the ſeriouſneſs of the Matter, wherein it was concerned, was a continual check upon me, and converted that Pleaſure into Grief, to think that any Man who pretends to Gravity and Reverence to Religion, ſhould allow himſelf the liberty to Wantonize at that rate, in moſt ſacred Things. So that I think the Man is ſo far from doing the learned Dean any real Service, that he will prove a diſparagement both to his Cauſe and Perſon; and the more for this reaſon, That being the Dean had formerly juſtly laſhed Mr. *Alſop*, for his lightneſs in a Caſe near a-kin to this; it will ſeem very indecent for him now to ſet up a *Jack-Pudding* or *Merry-Andrew* in his own Defence; and that it ſhould come forth without his privity and conſent, ſcarce any Man will believe, who conſiders how long and by whom Mr. *Lowth*'s Book of *Church Power* was ſtopp'd, in deſpight of all the intereſt he could make. Neither is the attempt to jeer Truth out of Countenance leſs intolerable at this time, when it is apparent from the Letter it ſelf, that the Dean doth endeavour to come up to Mr. *Lowth*; and it is much the beſt part of the Scriblers Plea to own it in his behalf. Several Pages are ſpent meerly in pickeering at Words and Phraſes, without one Syllable as to the merits of the Cauſe, though there be no want of Malice as to Mr. *Lowth*'s Perſon. But I love not to rake in Canals, though I have to do with Scavengers, and therefore ſhall paſs it all over; but where I meet with any thing material, I ſhall give you a conciſe account of my Thoughts of it.

2. years.

The chief Ground of this bitter Quarrel I find to be this; *That he* (the Dean) *is imperiouſly Summoned, and little leſs than commanded* (*viz.* by Mr. *Lowth*) *to ſatisfie the Church of God, by a Recantation as publick as his Error, Scandal and Offence.* This latter Clauſe I remember in Mr. *Lowth*'s Book; but the *imperious Summons* is anothers Interpretation, and the *little leſs than commanded* is added by the Author, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to do nothing, if he did not lay on more load. But in what manner ſoever it was done, I confeſs that in one reſpect it was very unreaſonable to call for ſuch a Recantation, for we are all too fond of our ſelves to appear againſt our ſelves: But when a Man hath gotten a name in the World, is admired by his Followers, applauded for his Parts and Learning, and look'd on as the *Coriphæus* of his Age, this Man is above all Recantations, and it is well if he do not think himſelf above any Error, Scandal or Offence. For ſuch a one to leſſen himſelf by the publick acknow-

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knowledgment of Error, is such a prodigious piece of Ingenuity, as cannot reasonably be expected; and indeed it is never to be expected from any, but those who can be content to take the shame to themselves, that God may have the Glory; and who value Truth above all their Reputation, yea, all their Interest in the World; and such are rare Birds, whether they have *Pockets* or not.

But then, if we lay aside Mens over-dearness to themselves, and the frightful tenderness of their Reputation, (as we ought in this Case) and look into the reason of the thing, the Case will be quite altered; and it will appear altogether unreasonable, that the Church of God should be wronged, or the Truth suffer, for the Advancement, or salving any Man's Reputation. And if any offend in this kind, they ought to give satisfaction, though few are willing to do it. I have no prejudice against the Dean's Person, and shall readily do him all the right I can. I acknowledge, that he hath taken a great deal of pains in defence of the Church of *England*; I honour him as a Man of extraordinary Parts, Learning and Industry, second to few, if any, of his Age. But doth this secure him from Error? Doth this make him infallible? Are we so zealous to pull down the Pope at *Rome*, that we may set up another at St. *Paul*'s? Or have not meaner Men sometimes corrected the Errors of far greater? *Apollinaris* was a Man of such curious Parts and Learning, that he was the Admiration of his Contemporaries, and he did the Church great service, by his clear and convincing way of writing against Hereticks; and yet (as some think) the very confidence in his Parts betrayed him into a foul Error; and even those who pitied him, who admired him, who acknowledged themselves much inferior to him, wrote against his Error, and have transmitted him to posterity, branded with the name of an Heretick. *Tertullian*, for acuteness of Parts, and variety of Learning, doubtless out-stripp'd all the Men of his Age; and I question whether any thing written in behalf of Christianity against Heathens hath out-done his Apology, or any thing hath been more convincingly penned against all sorts of Hereticks than his Book *de Præscriptionibus*: And yet this very Man, not without much ado, hath escaped the Title of an Heretick himself, if he have escaped it. However it is notorious, that he maintained some such foul Errors as are rejected on all hands. In these we may see, that the Church of God did not suffer the singular parts, or even

merits of any Man to patronize his Errors; but in that caſe always left him to the Merits of his cauſe; and perhaps it is moſt reaſonable, that the more conſiderable the perſon is, the more ſevere Trial he ſhould be put upon; becauſe the Authority of his Perſon is more like to make the Error ſpread, than if it came from another Man. And in this particular, even the Author of the Letter, though, like the Fiſh *Sepia*, he muddles himſelf in his own Ink, yet is forced ſometimes in down-right terms to confeſs, that the Dean hath been guilty of Error in that very matter, wherein Mr. *Lowth* accuſeth him; and when he doth his beſt to waſh it off, he doth only plaſter the Sore over.

To make this good I muſt deſcend to particulars, and then we ſhall quickly ſee, whether the Letter-maker be as good at his reaſoning, as he is at trifling and railing. The firſt thing he lays hold of is a civil Conceſſion of Mr. *Lowth*, as to the Deans *unreaſonableneſs of Separation*; whereby he grants it to be competently well done upon the Dean's Principles, and that he had *abundantly ſet forth the reaſonableneſs of our Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. *and urged Obedience thereto, from the deſtructive conſequences that muſt inevitably follow*. And when he hath got this by the end, he will not endure to hear that any thing is left as Matter of Diſpute, but runs away with it full cry, *That every Man is bound to yield to reaſon*, and then tramples on Mr. *Lowth* at pleaſure: But his heat could not ſtay to conſider, that all this amounted to no more than motives to Compliance, in the judgment of Intereſt or Diſcretion, and were for the moſt part ſuch as, *mutatis mutandis*, might be urged for any ſetled Conſtitution, even at *Geneva* or *Amſterdam*: And though they might incline Men to a preſent Obedience, yet they did not ſo link men to the Church of *England*, but that they ſtill had a fair Pretence to join with any other Church Government, which in time the Civil Power might advance or favour. Upon this account I ſuppoſe it is, that Mr. *Lowth* writes thus to the Dean. *In your Treatiſe of the Unreaſonableneſs of Separation, you no where (that I could take notice of) have preſſed Chriſtians to Obedience, as they are a Corporation imbodied under Government and Laws of their own (which is the original and fundamental Obligation to Submiſſion and Conformity) ariſing from the nature of that Kingdom, which Chriſt hath erected by the promulgation of the Goſpel, of which Kingdom every true Chriſtian is a Subject.* (*p.* 78.) And had the Arguments been taken from this Topick, they would have proved the Obedience not only reaſonable

reaſonable but neceſſary, ſecured Perſons to the Church of *England*, and kept things in the right Chanel. And there is the more reaſon to urge this at this time, when in a Paper attributed to no leſs perſon than the late King, I find a charge drawn up againſt our whole Body in theſe Words, *That that part of the Nation, which looks moſt like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments againſt the other Sects, for fear they ſhould be turned againſt themſelves.* Now, though for my own part I am poſſeſſed with no ſuch fear; yet I muſt confeſs, that when men purpoſely avoid ſuch Arguments, when the nature of the thing requires them, it gives a ſhrewd ſuſpicion, that either they do not approve them, or are afraid to uſe them. And it is by ſome thought that the Dean's way of manageing the Argument, as well againſt *Romaniſts* as *Fanaticks*, gave no ſmall occaſion to that and ſome other expreſſions in the Paper; and indeed to the whole Diſcourſe that is level'd againſt *Eraſtianiſm*, which is there ſuppoſed the Sence of the Church of *England*, becauſe it is ſo repreſented by Mr. Dean and his Party: And when you have conſidered theſe things, I leave you to think whether there was any great reaſon for that immoderate triumph over Mr. *Lowth*'s civility.

The next thing, which after ſome idle, fooliſh, flouriſhings of Wit the Epiſtolizer adventures on, is the buſineſs of the *Irænicum*; and truly he adventures hardly, who trips up his own heels, and gives up the cauſe at the ſame time that he undertakes to defend it. He tells us, that *at his late Majeſty's Reſtauration in thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Confuſions, the Dean at that time but a very Young Man, boldly ventures upon the reconciling part; it muſt* (ſaith he) *be confeſſed, and he has acknowledged it himſelf, that according to the fate of moſt Reconcilers, he was too liberal in his Conceſſions.* And 'pray', was this Mr. *Lowth*'s fault, or the Deans? But then if thoſe Conceſſions were ſuch as were not only prejudicial to the Church of *England*, but injurious to the Church of God (as it is apparent they were) might not Mr. *Lowth* or any other Man, lawfully tax them for being ſo; and ſtep in, at leaſt, for the defence of that Church of which he was a Member, and to which he was engaged by moſt ſacred Obligations? Is the Dean's Reputation ſo great, that it over-weighs the good, yea the very being of the Church? or muſt he have the liberty with applauſe to make erroneous Conceſſions, whilſt the other muſt not ſpeak Truth, without being ſhamefully Reproached and Abuſed? For, as to the main of the Controverſie, I do not find, that even the very

Enemies

Enemies of Mr. *Lowth* do lay the Error at his Door; but hence their Indignation ſwells, that a poor Country Vicar ſhould correct the Dean's Errors, and dares to ſee that Truth, which the Dean either did not or would not. A Man accuſtomed to *Hob-nail Proverbs*, (as our Letter-man expreſſes it) would have ſaid in this Caſe, That ſome may better ſteal a Horſe, than others look over the Hedge, though with an intent to make a diſcovery.

But he thinks amends is made for all this, becauſe though ſome enamoured on their own Fancies, could not be moved; yet *ſuch as gave themſelves the liberty of conſidering calmly, were gained over to our Church, and it did not want ſucceſs in that way, both here and in a Neighbour Nation.* And he tells us, *That there is no reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this.* But, with his good leave, I am of another Opinion; and, notwithſtanding his confidence, ſhall either queſtion the Truth or the honeſt meaning of it. For what was this mighty gain and ſucceſs, but the filling the Church with men of no ſteady Principles? The ſtubborn Diſſenters obſtinately made good their party, and continued expecting a time for their Advantage; but thoſe who were of more moderate Perſwaſions, or more favourable to their own Intereſt, found a more gentle Temper in the *Iranicum* to juſtifie their compliance with any Church Government; and ſo theſe Luke-warm perſons flock'd into the Church, thereby corrupting its Body, and ready to ſerve their purpoſes who ſtood out, when any fit opportunity ſhould be offered: They were ſo far ſatisfied as to make their Benefit of the Epiſcopal Government; but if that ſhould happen to be removed, they were as ready to embrace the Presbyterial or Independent, and perhaps more heartily. And, for my part, I do not think that the Church was any gainer by the Converſion of any ſuch profeſſed Diſſenters into falſe Friends: I ſhould think it ſafer to ſee the Serpent hiſſing before me, than to put him into my Boſom. By ſuch means it hath been brought to paſs, that in the Church of *England* we have had ſo few Church of *England* Men, and that many who fed plentifully at her Table, either durſt not maintain her upon her own juſt Grounds and Principles, or have been ready to betray her by their new Models, and underhand dealings; and this dreadful Out-cry againſt Mr. *Lowth*, ſeems to me a thing utterly unaccountable, but from the Churches abounding with Men of Latitudinarian and Eraſtian Principles, who are reſolved to maintain the poſitions of the Rector of *Sutton*, though the Dean of St. *Paul*'s pretend to diſclaim them; and there-

therefore I think Mr. *Lowth* might well call it an *unlucky Book*.

And yet no one living can believe this, who admits the Character which is given of the Book. *It might be compared* (ſaith our Learned Author) *to one of thoſe Trees, that are thick hung with plenty of Fruit of ſeveral growths; ſome ripe, ſome green, ſome in the bloſſom, and ſome in the bud, which altogether affordeth a very pleaſant Proſpect, argue an exceeding luxuriency and fertility in the Soil, and may be all brought to perfect Maturity in their due time.* God forbid, that all theſe ſhould come to perfect Maturity! for what can this Fruit be, but the ſeveral ſorts of Church Government mentioned in the *Irænicum*? There a curtailed kind of Epiſcopacy is coldly and faintly allowed, Presbytery ſtrongly pleaded for, Independency much favoured; and (if my memory fail me not) in the matter of Tithes, there is a ſpicing of Anabaptiſtry and Quakeriſm. Now certainly Epiſcopacy muſt be the preſent ripe Fruit, and therefore fit to be cropp'd; and no doubt but Presbytery, as green as it is, will be quickly ready for its place: Independency, though in the bud, yet upon occaſion is a very great grower, and ripens apace, and will ſoon be endeavouring to lend the Presbyter a lift; and others that are only in the bloſſom, upon theſe incouragements, will doubtleſs come on as faſt as they can; now would it not be a brave World to ſee all theſe come to perfect Maturity; *i. e.* to thruſt out one another, to take their place by turns, and run round by the help of ſome of *J. O's. Providential Revolutions?* I cannot tell what elſe to make of this Orainge-Tree Similitude, and if any one can give a kinder and more natural Interpretation of it, I ſhould be glad to hear it. If the Author had ſaid of the Fruit that it was ſome Ripe, ſome Rotten, I think he had given a much truer, though nothing ſo glorious a Character. I have formerly read the Book, and truly my thoughts of it then were, that in all my Life I had never ſeen ſo many ill things ſo confuſedly put together; and the beſt excuſe that I can make for it, is, to plead our near Twenty Years Confuſions; the variety of Opinions which then got in Vogue; the prejudices which prevailed, and the great diſadvantages moſt Men laboured under, as to their Studies, who were forced to lanch forth into the World before his late Majeſty's Reſtauration. But if any Man plead for it in downright terms at this time o'th' Day, he deſerves to be caſheired, not only out of the Church of *England*, but the Society of Learning.

But

But for this I had beſt look to my ſelf; for the Author of the Letter aſſures us, that the Biſhops were of another mind, and that the *Prudent and Reverend Governors of our Church did admire the performance*. Well then there is no help for ſuch as I, unleſs we can ſhelter our ſelves under ſuch Imprudent and Irreverend Governors as did not admire it. So perhaps the Letter-Maker may think, and that he is ſafe now he hath ſet the Biſhops on their Backs, who ſhall dare to open their Mouths againſt the *Irænicum*. And yet for all this I am nothing concerned, for I have learn'd that there is a great deal of difference betwixt admiring and approving; and we more often admire Mens Folly and Wickedneſs, than their Wiſdom and Goodneſs. I ſhall eaſily grant, that, conſidering the Time, the Perſon, and his Age, there is much in that Book to be admired, and perhaps more to be cenſured; and I hardly think that the Biſhops have a better Opinion of that Book, than the Dean profeſſeth to have himſelf, who for ſome Years of late hath been ſick of it: But it would be the ſtrangeſt Paradox in the World, that they ſhould be ſo deſperately enamour'd on a Script, which Sacrificeth their whole Order to the pleaſure of the Magiſtrate, or the *Mobile*, and actually degrades them into the Rank of Presbyters. What will ſuch Inſinuations make men think of our Biſhops? It is inſufferable Impudence thus covertly to expoſe the higheſt Order in God's Church. But let the Reverend Biſhops look to themſelves, for our Author thinks he can prove what he ſaith, and tells us, that *the great Sufferers for Religion and Loyalty had ſuch an Opinion of Mr.* Stillingfleet (and that doubtleſs upon the account of the *Irænicum*) *that they made choice of him to undertake the Defence of the Conference with* Fiſher. And what of all this? Doth it thence follow that they approved the *Irænicum?* I rather think the contrary. I ſuppoſe our Author may have heard of Mr. *Prynn*, a Man of a reſtleſs Spirit, and unſetled Judgment, who ſpared no Times or Perſons: Now becauſe they could not tell what to do with him, but put him to the Records in the Tower to employ his buſie Mind, will our Author conclude that they applauded all he wrote? But to bring an inſtance yet nearer to our Caſe, of all the Schiſmaticks that ever aſſaulted the Church of *England*, poſſibly none will be found more Inveterate, nor yet more able and learned than *T. Cartwright*; and yet ſome of the Governors of our Church thought fit to put him upon Writing againſt our Country-men at *Rhemes*: And I ſuppoſe their deſign was to ſweeten his bitter Spirit, by

ſuch

ſuch an honour done to him, and to win him what they fairly could, or at leaſt to divert a direct War upon the Church, and to hinder his making the People run mad, at which he was an excellent Artiſt. 'Tis true that his ill Principles ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that his Performance did not anſwer expectation, and other hands were forced to be ſet on work; but if this Author had been then living, it ſeems he would have hence concluded, that not only all the Biſhops, but even Archbiſhop *Whitgift* himſelf. who had wrote againſt him, did approve of what *Cartwright* had wrote before; and he had done the Biſhops no mean favour, if he had not made them all Fanaticks. Something more perhaps may be ſaid in behalf of the Rector of *Sutton*; for the *Irenicum*, though a pernicious Book, yet did vouch thus much for its Author, That he was a Man of luxuriant Parts, and indefatigable Induſtry; and being he ſeemed himſelf to be unſetled, who ſhall accuſe the Wiſdom of our Governors for endeavouring to take him off, before he was too far gone; and to employ him in an honourable Work, which might at once oblige him, and better inſtruct him? And he that had maintained an ill cauſe, with ſo good appearance of Learning, might reaſonably be thought to manage a good one with much more advantage. And I am apt to think that this courſe had totally ſecured him, had not ſome men, who applaud his Failures above his beſt Performances, perſwaded him that he could do nothing amiſs, and made him cling too cloſe to his early miſtakes: For doubtleſs the Dean, after ſo long Experience and vaſt Reading, cannot but diſcover the miſchievous Conſequences of many things in that Book, which his Juvenile Heat and too forward Zeal ſent over haſtily into the World: And I am willing to believe, that we might in time ſee as great Evidences of Candor and Ingenuity, as of Parts and Learning from him, could theſe men leave him to himſelf. But this I think may ſatisfie you of the reaſons of thoſe perſons employing him at that time, though they could not approve the *Irenicum*. It may be needleſs perhaps to add more in reſpect of you, yet for the ſake of ſome others, who may be more difficult, becauſe unwilling to be convinced, I will fling you in a Royal Inſtance double twiſted: It is no unknown thing, That Biſhop *Bilſon* let drop ſome paſſages from his Pen, which might be interpreted to ſavour too much of Commonwealth Principles, and were particularly diſtaſtful to King *James* the Firſt; and yet that Wiſe King not

only ſuffered him to enjoy the richeſt Biſhoprick in his Kingdom, but ſeem'd to afford him ſome particular Favour and Countenance. This ſome Schiſmaticks afterwards laid hold of, and made uſe of it to their Advantage; againſt whom our Royal Martyr thus defends his Father (in his Third Paper to Mr. *Henderſon.*) *As for Biſhop* Bilſon, *I remember very well what Opinion the King my Father had of him for thoſe Opinions*, and *how he ſhewed him ſome Favour in hope of his Recantation, as his good Nature made him do many things of that kind.* And had this occurr'd to the Dean's Memory, as it could not eſcape his Reading, it might have been a ſtrong Temptation upon him to have drawn the Father into his Party, as well as he hath done the Son; and indeed they are both much alike on his ſide: But I think that it better ſerves to ſhew, that, reſpect to mens Perſons, and approbation of their Opinions, are very diſtant things, and that he who paſſeth judgment upon no better Evidence, follows a very fallacious Rule.

From this we are lead to conſider the deſign of this *unlucky Book*, which I could wiſh had never been deſign'd at all. And we are told, That *but two deſigns can be tolerably pretended, the one is the Dean's own, the other Mr.* Lowth *hath made for him.* The one is applauded, the other inſolently and ſcornfully condemned: they are repreſented as inconſiſtent with each other; and yet, with this Author's leave, I think it not impoſſible that they may be both true. And, Firſt, I muſt tell you, that a man though very zealous and ſerious may be miſtaken, as to the Juſtice and Goodneſs of his own deſign, and may actually deſign that which is really evil, and effect it too, whilſt he thinks to do great good. Thus it was with no leſs a perſon than St. *Paul* before his Converſion in perſecuting the Chriſtians. And our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf tells us (*John* 16. 2.). *The time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, will think he doth God Service.* And I believe the Author of the Letter would be very unwilling to have his Throat cut with ſuch a Religious deſign, notwithſtanding he is ſo brisk an Advocate for Mens well meaning. And there is not a Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, Quaker, or any Sectary whatſoever, who ſeriouſly deſire and endeavour to ruine the Church of *England*, but they think they deſign well; and our Author, if he pleaſe, may undertake their defence. Well, but *the Dean hath ſolemnly profeſſed, that his deſign was to heal the Wounds of the Church.* Now, though I never liked the Plaſter, yet I am willing

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to believe this to have been his design, and it is a very Christian and noble Design. But then, in the next place we are to consider, that a Man, who carries on a very just and laudable design, may yet proceed in such untoward methods, and use such unagreeable and unhappy means, that he may not only miscarry as to his design, but may do as much hurt as he designed good. And in this case it is apparent, that there is a Twofold design, the one personal, the other natural, the one which the person intends and fails in; the other, that which the means he useth naturally tend to. And therefore, when Mr. *Lowth* saith, That *the design was meerly or mostly* (or what you will) *against the re-establishment of the Church of* England, I cannot believe that he meant to enter into the Dean's Thoughts, but that he did judge what was the natural tendency of his Arguments; and so let the Dean's design be what it will, he might be in the right as to the design of the Book; and whether he was or not, must be tried by the proofs he brings for it. And our Author confidently asserts, That *all that he* (*Mr.* Lowth) *offers in proof of this, is his* (the Dean's) *denying Episcopacy to be by the Laws of Christ always binding and immutable, and that he attributes too much power to the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Affairs; and this* (saith our Author) *will be freely confessed.* A pretty fair Confession: And is it not an admirable way to procure the Establishment of the Church of *England*, by pleading, that Episcopacy may be turned out of doors at the pleasure of the Civil Magistrate? For, supposing the mutability of Episcopacy, and the power of the Magistrate there asserted, this will be the natural consequence. And is it not hard, that a man should confess Mr. *Lowth* to be in the right, and in the same Breath revile him? But our Author has a trick to prove that this Argument will not hold; and tells us, That he will *turn the Tables, and suppose Mr.* Lowth *a zealous Presbyterian; and then,* (*because the* Irenicum *denies that Government to be immutable, as well as Episcopal, and gives away some of the power to the Civil Magistrate, which is wont to be assumed by their Classical and Synodical Assemblies*) *he might have made the same complaint in favour of the Consistory*, &c. Very true, and there is no doubt but Mr. *Lowth* would have done so, had he been such a zealous Presbyterian; or else he must have been false to his Principles. But could not this man turn the Tables, without turning Mr. *Lowth* into a Presbyterian? I pretend not to much skill at Tables, but I had thought, that those who turned the Tables had left the

Persons as they were; and if he had done so, he might have turn'd and overturn'd his Tables till his heart had aked, before he could have made Mr. *Lowth* open his mouth in favour of the Consistory, though the Dean's Design and Arguments had been never so violent against it. And let us suppose it true which this Author alledgeth, *That the design of the* Irenicum *may be as easily levelled against the Presbyterian, as the Episcopal Church*, yet it doth not follow hence, that Episcopacy and Presbytery stand upon equal terms; and though both proceeding upon the same supposition, do equally complain, yet that part which really suffers wrong doth justly complain: And if he please now to set his Tables right again, I am apt to think that he will give it on the Episcopal side. But there is something farther, for which the Presbyterian my justly complain, though this Author had cast such a mist before his own Eyes, that he could not see it. For the Presbyterian in the general Notion asserts a great Truth; and it is not his fault that he pleads a divine right of Church Government, but that he takes it out of those Hands, wherein Christ and his Apostles left it, to commit to those to whom it was never intrusted, and thus licks up *Aerius*'s Vomit. Now in this case Mr. *Lowth* had proved the Presbyterian concerned as well as the Episcoparian. For when the Author of the *Irenicum*, to avoid the Argument from the Superiority of the Apostles, and their Jurisdiction over the Pastors of the Church by an Act of Christ, had pleaded, *That it must be farther proved, that it was Christ's intention, that Superiority should continue in their Successions, or it makes nothing to the purpose.* To this Mr. *Lowth* replies, That at this rate of Arguing, though the Apostles, by an Act of Christ were invested with the ministerial Authority, yet it must be farther proved, That it was Christ's intention, that the same power should continue in their Successors, or it makes nothing to the purpose for a setled Ministry; and the same Argument which overthrows a Superiority of Churchmen, for want of an expres of Christ's intention, overthrows the very Ministry it self, *both having the same bottom and alike promises.* And here the Episcopal Man was not left alone to complain, but the Presbyterian might honestly put in for a share. And this indeed was a fatal Argument, for it overthrew the whole project of the *Irenicum*; for, if you well observe, you will find the Scheme of that Author to lie thus: He asserts in general a divine Right of Government, or that it is the Will of Christ, that his

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Church ſhould be Governed one way or other; but then, as for any particular Form of Church Government, he doth not think that Chriſt or his Apoſtles erected any with an Obligation of its continuance, but that it was left to ſome body, I know not who, to eſtabliſh the particular Form according to the neceſſity, convenience, and circumſtances of Times, Places, and Perſons, and from time to time to new mould and change the ſame, as they ſhould find cauſe, yet always containing themſelves within the bounds of what the Author thinks lawful. I grant that he is not always true to this, but the whole Work ſeems to be bottomed upon this ſuppoſition, and for his inconſiſtencies, he himſelf may take care of them. Now the Argument here uſed hath undone himſelf, and is levelled not only againſt the divine Right of any one particular Form, but againſt the divine Right of a Miniſtry, and all Church Government whatſoever. Neither do I know to what purpoſe we ſhould wrangle, whether the Houſe ſhall be built in this or that Form or Shape, when it doth not appear that we have any Right or Authority either to build any at all, or to enter any formerly built. And now let any man judge, whether this was an effectual way of arguing either for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, or for mens complying with it.

But tho this be enough to prove what Mr. *Lowth* hath alledged; yet it is untruly ſaid of the Letter-maker, that this is all: For Mr. *Lowth* had accuſed the Author of the *Irenicum*, that, notwithſtanding his Pretence of the Mutability of Church Government, he had inveſted the Presbyter with the *full Power of Order and Juriſdiction, and that he had perpetually fixed him by divine Right unalterable*, and he there proves his Charge (*p.* 29.) and you may find ſeveral other things in Mr. *Lowth*'s Letter to this purpoſe, to which I refer you; for they having received no Anſwer, I am no further at preſent concerned for them; only I think this a very unlikely way of perſwading the eſtabliſhment of the Church under Biſhops; and leave you to judge, let the Author's Deſign be what it will, whether the Book do not carry on the Deſign which Mr. *Lowth* pretends.

I fear I grow troubleſom to you, but now my Hand is in, I am reſolved to follow this Author to ſee, if he have done the reverend Dean any better Service in the remaining part of his Letter: And the next thing he falls on, is, the Buſineſs of a Recantation. And here, ſuppoſing what I had read in the former part

part of the Letter would have been of the ſame piece with what followed, I expected to have met with ſtrange tragical Exclamations, and that the unreaſonableneſs of the Demand ſhould have been bitterly cryed out againſt: But I was quite diſappointed, and he is clear too quick for us, for he ſaith, *That a Recantation hath been already made, and that as publick as the Error, Scandal and Offence, and too before the Demand was made.* This Language I confeſs ſurprized me. It ſeems then, that Mr. *Lowth* and the Dean were agreed, and did not know it. What pity is it, that ſuch a Noiſe ſhould be made all over the Kingdom, and ſuch Diſturbance among Church of *England* Men about a Quarrel between Two Peaſons, who are both become of the ſame Mind? But is it not a ſtark Shame, that when Mr. *Lowth* is acknowledged to be in the Right, and the Dean hath receeded from his former Tenets to come up to an Opinion which Mr. *Lowth* hath always maintained, he ſhould be reviled and exclaimed againſt in all places for this, with as much Fierceneſs and Bitterneſs as if he had ſet the Church on Fire? At leaſt thoſe, who confeſs thus much, ought to condemn the Practice as Unreaſonable. And if this be true, I think the Quarrel ought to be at an end. But now I am afraid to read on, leaſt in looking after the Proof of this I ſhould meet with a ſecond Diſappointment, and I find all to amount to little better than a meer *Say ſo.* And indeed much thus it happens: For tho I am willing to perſwade my ſelf, that the Learned Dean is really and truly of another Mind, and hath quitted many of the looſe Opinions of the Rector of *Sutton*, yet this Author is ſo Unfortunate in the Proof of it, that he hath done him no ſmall Diskindneſs. And the Firſt thing which he cites from the *ſeveral Conferences* is ſo far from a formal Retractation, as he would bear us in hand, that it is indeed only a ſcurvy Palliation of the matter, and I am ſorry there to find this Aſſertion; *That what Propoſals he makes about tempering Epiſcopacy, they were no other than what King* Charles *1ſt. and Mr.* Thorndike *had made before him.* How? No other? If there be not ſome Propoſitions (which when you pleaſe go for Propoſals) in the *Irenicum* relating to Epiſcopacy, which King *Charles 1ſt.* and Mr. *Thorndike*, were they living, would abominate, I will never more pretend to any common Underſtanding of what I read. As for our glorious Martyr, it is very hard to ſay what Conceſſions any man could have made, who had been reduced to thoſe miſerable Straits, which he was by the

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moſt impudent and barbarous Rebels. And yet thus far I am confident, that nothing ſtuck more cloſe to him, than his Opinion concerning the Government of the Church by Biſhops; nothing rendred him more ſuſpected both to the Presbyterian and Independent; nothing was a greater Obſtacle in all Treaties; nor was any thing pleaded for by him with more Vigor and Smartneſs. But I will trouble you no farther on this Account, becauſe I know that the *bleſſed King* Charles and *judicious Mr.* Thorndike will be vindicated in this Point by another Hand. But I could not forbear ſmiling at a pretty Fetch of this Author, who when he had cited the King's Propoſal (as he calls it) from the Deans Epiſtle Dedicatory, and made his Comment upon it, immediately adds, *This is very conſiſtent with the Practice of the Firſt Ages, and this I take to be the ſame that by Law is eſtabliſhed in our Church.* Surely the Dean did himſelf much wrong to talk of *tempering Epiſcopacy.* For let him ſay what he would, he was for it juſt the ſame that it is now. And do you not think that our Author had good Eyes, who could diſcover how Epiſcopacy hath been all along by Law eſtabliſhed, juſt according to the Propoſals in the *Irenicum*? I ſhould commend him at a dead Lift, but that he over does it ſo unmercifully. Some other paſſages indeed this Author cites, which ſeem to imply ſome kind of retractation; and I am apt to believe that the Dean really intended them with reference to ſome things, which he had formerly alledged in prejudice of the Church of *England*; but then what the particulars are we are left to gueſs: And I remember I have read of an old *Hob-Nail'd Axiom*, that *dolus verſatur in univerſalibus.* And for any thing contained in thoſe Expreſſions, any Man upon occaſion may eaſily get of them; and each Party, as the Tide turned, might apply them to their own advantage for any thing that could be ſaid to the contrary, without a more particular Explanation from their Author.

But, to put the whole matter out of Diſpute, this Author at laſt deſcends to particulars, and inſtances in three things, wherein lies the main Charge, *i. e.* the Manuſcript, the Power of Church Officers, and Epiſcopacy. And if this be ſatisfactorily done, I know no reaſon but that the Quarrel ſhould die; but inſtead of that I rather meet with idle Cavils, than fair Anſwers. As to the Manuſcript, the firſt thing charged is, *the altering the general Method of it*; and of this he in ſome meaſure clears the Dean, and lays it upon Doctor *Burnet*, and undertakes

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to give the reaſon of it. But whatever might be the reaſon, yet it is confeſſed, That it was altered, and no Record ought to be altered upon any reaſon whatſoever, without Forgery; and therefore Mr. *Lowth* ſpake Truth, and ought not to be abuſed at this rate upon that account. And though this Author tells us how eaſie a matter it is to put it in its firſt Order, yet I believe many might have been to ſeek in it, had not this Conteſt given occaſion for the fuller explaining the myſteries of it. And for my part I like not of mens doing thus unwarrantably, and worſe of their giving reaſons for it.

The other charge in reference to the Manuſcript, is, *That they have left out Biſhop* Cranmer's *Subſcription to Doctor* Leighton's *Opinion concerning Church Power, by which he retracted his former erroneous Judgment.* This the Author acknowledgeth to be ſo foul a thing, that it would leave thoſe without any excuſe, who ſhould be proved guilty of it. but he quarrels Mr. *Lowth*'s proof, and finds no leſs than four miſtakes in it; and if he had pleaſed he might have made them fourſcore, and I know not who could have contradicted him, for the Manuſcript is to be ſeen only by choice Friends, and whilſt they keep it ſo cloſe to themſelves, they may ſay what they pleaſe of it, without any bodies being able to diſprove them. But if there had been ſo many miſtakes, they cannot fairly be laid at Mr. *Lowth*'s door; for he doth not pretend to have ſeen the Manuſcript, but took it upon the credit and relation of Doctor *Durel*, late Dean of *Windſor*; and therefore at him the Argument ought to have been levelled: And yet I do not ſee how the Dean of *Windſor* can be blamed, not only becauſe they took no notice of it in his life time, nor in the leaſt offered to diſprove him; but alſo, becauſe that learned perſon doth intimate, that he had peruſed the Manuſcript, and followed his own Eye ſight in what he wrote. And it is farther conſiderable, that Mr. *Lowth* gave notice of this by Letter, whilſt the Dean of *Windſor* was living. All this while no miſtake was heard of, but now the Dean is dead, and can tell no Tales, here are four of a cluſter. But until this Author's Reputation can out-weigh that of the Dean of *Windſor*'s, (which I think it will not do in haſte) amongſt all diſintereſſed perſons it will remain a Quæry where the miſtake lies, and give a ſuſpicion of Jugling.

I was in hope that we had now done with this Muſhroom Manuſcript, which ſurely either ſprung out of the Ground, or like the

the *Trojan Palladium*, or Image of *Diana* fell down from *Jupiter* for I can yet learn nothing further of its Pedigree, than that it came by Providence. But this Author is not content to maintain the abuſe of it, unleſs he may alſo juſtifie the publication of it; and moſt baſely and unchriſtianly inſinuates, as if Mr. *Lowth* were a Man for Fire and Fagot, meerly becauſe relating a Story out of *Livy* he ſeems to diſlike it. I wiſh the Author would conſider with what manner of Spirit he wrote that Paragraph; I am aſhamed of the malice of it. Surely this *Livy* is an *Unlucky Book* too. I have heard the Story told, That during the long Parliament-Rebellion, an honeſt Loyal Gentleman was ſoundly Plundered, and carried Priſoner to the next Rebel Garriſon; thoſe Janizary Troopers finding *Titi Livii Patavini Hiſtoriæ Romanæ Principis*, to lie in his Parlour; and they had juſt ſo much Latin and Sence as thence to conclude him a Roman Catholick. But though Mr. *Lowth* hath met with ſuch hard uſage for a ſlight inſinuation of his Thoughts, I will run the hazard of telling you more plainly, that I think the Manuſcript to have been much fitter for the Fire than for the Preſs; nor can I think to what end it was publiſhed, unleſs to ſcandalize our Reformation, or to expoſe the greateſt Prelate that was concerned in it. I have known ſome very good men who have been very ſolicitous, that ſuch Papers which might any ways diſcover their indecencies, their weakneſs, their over-ſight, or their neglects, might be burnt, and they never ſo much as ſuſpected, that this was an *unwarrantable Artifice*, or that they or others ſhould get the Title of *Roman Senators*, either for deſiring or performing of it. And what is there in theſe Papers, that deſerves ſuch an extraordinary Care? Why truly no great matter of Good is pretended, but this Author thinks they cannot do us much Hurt. *For* (ſaith he) *we do not think we can ſuffer ſo much by any private Opinion of his* (i. e. Cranmer's) *that we ſhould be tempted to deſtroy his Papers.* Nor do I think the ſuffering much or little could be a Temptation to publiſh them. If that was his private Opinion, I wiſh they had ſuffered it to be ſo ſtill; and that they had obſerved a Difference between deſtroying and making publick. But ſuppoſe it was his private Opinion, yet it was not ſo long; nay it received ſuch faint Entertainment at beſt, that it ſcarce deſerved to be called his Opinion. For this Author tells us, that he *ſubſcribed it with much Dubiouſneſs*: And he was ſo far from being ſatisfied in the Point, that it ſeems he retracted it not long after. And Doctor *Burnet* expreſly ſays,

That he ſubſcribed the Book, that was ſoon after ſet out, which is directly contrary to thoſe Opinions ſet down in theſe Papers. And now is not this wiſe Work, that an Opinion which *Cranmer* never heartily embraced, which upon Debate he grew aſhamed of, diſcarded, and under his Hand frankly retracted, ſhould be retrived from Darkneſs, and not only ſet up for the *Pole Star*, whereby the Rector of *Sutton* ſteers his Courſe thorough that fluctuating *Irenicum*, but publiſhed with all Advantage to debauch others, and lead them into the looſeſt and moſt extravagant Opinions concerning Church Government? And here I cannot but obſerve the unpardonable Partiality of this Author; who, without any Remorſe, rakes into the very Aſhes of poor *Cranmer*, and revives a ſuppoſed Opinion of his, from which he certainly departed, that he might lay him to open Shame; and at the ſame time will have the Dean to be Sacred and Inviolable, and not ſuffer the leaſt Reflection to be made upon him, though he formerly printed the ſame Opinion only new vampt, which they would father on the Archbiſhop. Certainly ſome deference ought to have been paid to *Cranmer*, either upon the Score of his Sufferings, or his Station in the Church, or the Diſtance of Time, or the Uncertainty of the Thing; and if none of theſe could prevail with this Author, yet methinks he ſhould have been more Merciful, than to trample in a mans Urn, and to expoſe one, who hath been ſo long dead, and can ſay nothing for himſelf. As for the Dean, he is alive and well, and a Thouſand times better able to defend his own Cauſe, than this Whiffler. And therefore ſuch Tenderneſs over the one, and ſuch Neglect, or rather Severity, towards the other, is neither fair nor ingenuous. And after all, it is not improbable, that it never might have been *Cranmer*'s Opinion, which is ſet down in the Papers: For the great management of Affairs paſſing thorough his Hands, he might ſtate the Caſe by way of Experiment, to put others upon a more full, free Debate and Conſultation of the Matter, and to diſcover the true Grounds and Reaſons of the Right, as well as the Miſtakes of the Wrong; and by a contrary Determination to give a Check to ſome Opinions, which it is probable ſome Court Paraſites might be then ſetting on Foot. For it is ſcarce Credible, that a Man of his Greatneſs and Influence ſhould ſo quickly, ſo eaſily, ſo ſpontaneouſly depart from an Opinion of ſuch moment, if he had been really poſſeſſed with it, and not only uſed it by way of Tryal of others. For that ſuch an Opinion

nion would have been grateful enough to the then prevailing Court Party, there can be no Queſtion, and (except the bare peruſal of *Leighton*'s and others Papers) we do not hear of any conſiderable Means uſed to take him off this Opinion; and that ſuch a Perſon as *Cranmer* ſhould leave an Opinion ſo lightly, and that at a time, when it ſerved his particular Intereſt, ſeems to me very unlikely. And therefore, though the Authority of the Manuſcript ſhould be good (which to me ſeems very ſuſpicious) it may fairly be ſuppoſed, that not a fixed Opinion, but ſome other Reaſon, which we ſee not, moved him to ſtate the Caſe at that manner, and at that time. And whileſt a Matter is under Debate, it may for removal of Objections, and for the better beating and clearing up the thing in Queſtion, be uſeful ſometimes *induere perſonam alterius*, and to ſtart and move ſuch things, which he may have no Kindneſs for. But when the thing is determined, and he as freely yields to it as any other, he hath very hard Meaſure if all his Propoſals muſt be fixed on him as his ſetled Opinions, and be repreſented to the World ever after as heterodox or heretical.

But though *Cranmer* be ſufficiently expoſed by the Manuſcript, yet, ſince others will have it ſo, for me let him bear his own Burthen, provided that the publiſhing of it may ſerve either our Church or the Reformation: For otherwiſe I ſee no reaſon why Men ſhould be ſo enamoured of it. And as for ſo much as concerns *Cranmer*, what Service can that do our Church, which yeilds up its peculiar Rights and Powers to be raviſhed at Pleaſure by lay Hands? What Honour can it do our Reformation, which repreſents the greateſt Inſtrument of it, and him, who had the beſt Authority to promote it, as a Man tainted with the looſeſt Principles? It is true, that things in themſelves not only good but commendable may be done by ill Men; but though that doth not alter the Nature of them, yet it is apt to create Jealouſies, and cauſe a Prejudice in mens Minds againſt them. And therefore it was wiſely done of the *Athenians*, who, when they had received excellent Council from a very bad Man, to avoid the ſcandal of following ſo ill a Perſon, cauſed another of unblemiſhed Reputation to give the ſame Advice in open Senate as from himſelf. I muſt therefore beg your Pardon, if I cannot but think it ill done, that upon ſo weak Grounds as the Credit of a muſty Manuſcript, which hath no other Voucher but Providence, ſo great a Man as *Cranmer* ſhould be blaſted, even in

ſuch matters, that the Shame will in ſome meaſure rebound upon our ſelves. And it ſeems ſtrange to me that theſe Men ſhould decry Doctor *Heylin* for his impartial Dealing, in expoſing ſome ill things done in the Entrance of the Reformation, which certainly is beſt defended by ſeparating the Cauſe from the Rapaciouſneſs, ſelf Ends, and ill Actions of ſome particular Perſons; and yet they themſelves unneceſſarily and groundleſly ſhould publiſh ſome pretended Opinions of *Cranmer*'s, which border too near the Cauſe it ſelf; and are not content ſo to do, unleſs they may alſo eſpouſe them. And it is ſtill worſe, in that it miniſters too fair an Opportunity for our Adverſaries to reproach us, who doubtleſs will not be wanting to improve every thing of that Nature to their utmoſt Advantage. And of this I will give you only one Inſtance, in a Book lately printed at *Oxford*, whoſe Author was apparently of greater Temper than is uſual with moſt *Romaniſts*, who is converſant in our beſt Authors, and hath the Skill to convert even our Sufferings into our Ruine; in that Book (I ſay) I find this ſevere Charge drawn up againſt both Clergy and Reformation, occaſioned purely and ſolely from this pretended Manuſcript. *As for the King's Supremacy* (ſaith he) *how far now ſome of the complying Clergy extended or acknowledged the juſt Power thereof, even as to Ordination and Excommunication, and adminiſtring the Word and Sacraments, I think I cannot more readily ſhew you, than by ſetting down the Quæries propoſed concerning theſe things, in the firſt Year of this Kings Reign* (he means *Edward* the VI.) *to Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *and other Biſhops and learned Men, when aſſembled at* Windſor *for eſtabliſhing a publick Order for divine Service; and the Archbiſhops Anſwer to them, printed lately by Mr.* Stillingfleet *out of a Manuſcript of this Archbiſhop* (Iren. 2 par. 8 chap.) and then he ſets down the Quæries, and the wild Anſwers thereunto; and for any thing I can ſee, very fairly; and what he ſubjoins, is, I think, as modeſt a Reflection as could be expected to flow from the Pen of an Adverſary. *This Text* (ſaith he) *needs no Comment, it is plain enough; and perhaps Poſterity might have done better to have covered this Nakedneſs of their Forefather; than to have publiſhed it after ſo long a Silence.* (Church Government par. 5. concerning the *Engliſh* Reformation, cap. 8. pag. 120, *&c.*) Now is it not mad Work to beray our own Neſt, and perſiſt in it ſtill, after our Enemies ſhew themſelves aſhamed of our Unadviſedneſs, though it be their great Advantage.

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By this you may perceive, that ſome ſtill remain unſatisfied, as to the Manuſcript, and by no means approve the publiſhing of it; and I wiſh our Author may give a better account of the next particular, which is *the Power of Church Officers.* And here the Appendix to the *Irenicum* comes in the Van, a Treatiſe written on purpoſe to help out the defects of the former, and to purge himſelf from *Eraſtianiſm*; and therefore with ſome reaſon one might expect, that that matter of Church Power ſhould have been clearly ſtated; and certainly he did intend it ſo far as his Thoughts were; for why elſe doth he refer Mr. *Lowth* to this very Book on that Scorce, and upbraid him, *That he had not produced one conſiderable Argument which he had not made uſe of in a Diſcourſe publiſhed above Twenty Years ſince?* which ſaying can be meant of no other than his Appendix. Againſt this (as this Author tells us) Mr. *Lowth*'s exception is, *That it is limitted to the Power of Excommunication.* And this he wipes of with a wet Finger, ſaying, *That was the Subject to be treated of, and to have extended it farther in that place had been to little purpoſe.* It ſeems then, that to come up to a Caſe is to little purpoſe, but to do it by halves is to mighty purpoſe. But it is obſervable of this Author, that he rarely mentions an Objection of Mr. *Lowth*'s, but he repreſents it either not in his Sence, or not in its due force. For *Mr. Lowth*'s Objection lay thus, That it was ſo limited to the Power of Excommunication, that all other Acts and Offices of the Church (teaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments excepted) were left in the hands of the civil Magiſtrate; ſo that the power over ſacred Things, was annexed entirely to the civil Power. Now with the Epiſtolizers leave, I think it had been nothing impertinent ſo to have handled the matter of Excommunication, as not to have left ſo conſiderable an Objection always daſhing at his Heels. To the Objection in this ſence there is not a tittle of Anſwer, and now we may go look for the ſo much boaſted Satisfaction elſewhere; for on all hands it is agreed, that it is not here to be found.

To help out this matter we are led to the Treatiſe in Vindication of Archbiſhop *Laud*, a laborious and learned piece: But as I will not be bound to Anſwer for all things in that Book, ſo neither will I raiſe any new Quarrels againſt it; I wiſh *Mr. Lowth*'s Objections could be fairly anſwered. For though he thence cites many intricate perplexed Paſſages; yet our Author with his wonted Ingenuity, tells us only, That he had happened upon

upon a little piece of a Sentence, which he thought might have an ill Aſpect upon Church Power, and it is this, *The being of a Church ſuppoſes this antecedent belief (or aſſent to the Doctrine of Chriſt) in Chriſtians.* And this piece of a Sentence is more, I fear, than he ever well underſtood, though he thinks it may be ſo eaſily defended: For though in a Church to be conſtituted or gathered out of Heathens it holds true, yet in a Church already conſtituted, he ought to diſtinguiſh between an actual and federal Belief. For in all Societies both ſacred and civil, Children follow the common Condition of their Parents, unleſs by their own ſubſequent act they alter the caſe. Thus the Children of Slaves are born Slaves, and the Children of Freemen born Free. And as under the old Law, the Children, as parts of their Parents, and in the ſame Covenant with them, were initiated by Circumciſion, ſo under the Goſpel or new Law, by virtue of a covenant-Right, without any expreſs declaration or conſent of their own, Children are admitted into the Church by Baptiſm: And for want of diſtinguiſhing between thoſe who are Born to Rights and Privileges in the Church, and thoſe who are not capable of acquiring them, but by an explicite Belief of their own, that propoſition became liable to very ill conſtruction, and gave too much advantage to the *Socinians* and *Anabaptiſts*; and yet I take this to be the leaſt of the Quarrel in that particular; and if this Author can ſo eaſily defend that propoſition, he ought either to defend it in the Sence, in which *Mr. Lowth* alledgeth the Dean to have wrote it; or he muſt prove that not to have been the Dean's Sence. For there is no queſtion but the Propoſition it ſelf might have been ſo qualified, that both might have eaſily agreed in it. But hence aroſe the Conteſt, that they drew very different or rather oppoſite inferences from it; for *Mr. Lowth* from this antecedent Belief infers, not only a capacity but an indiſpenſable Obligation upon ſuch to enter into a Church Society and Eccleſiaſtical Communion (*i. e.*) ordinarily, and where there is a ſetled Church; for they were not diſcourſing about the State of Men in the Iſle of *Pines*. And he gives a reaſon of his Aſſertion to this effect, That, as no Man ought to limit God's Power and Mercy in extraordinary Caſes, ſo neither ought any to enlarge them, where God by his revealed will hath ſet bounds and limits; and conſequently, that the promiſes and aſſurances of Salvation ought to be given to none out of the Church, where God hath a Church, as to her Offices and Adminiſtra-

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miniſtrations in actual Being and Settlement. But quite contrary hereto, upon this ſuppoſition of antecedent Belief, the Dean infers, That a Man may be in a State of Salvation in his ſingle and private Capacity apart, and out of all Church Society and Eccleſiaſtical Communion, though he live where it is to be had, which utterly overthrows any neceſſity of attendance to Ordinances, and all Church Communion: And to prove this Mr. *Lowth* cites ſeveral paſſages out of that Book. Now if this Author will not ſee how this Opinion can be deſtructive of Church Power, he muſt be blind ſtill for me; but then he will be very ill able to disburthen the Dean of thoſe conſequences wherewith Mr. *Lowth* hath loaded him; and indeed, ſuppoſing the Truth of the charge, the Dean himſelf can never be able any other ways to do it, than by quitting the Opinion.

And thus this Book not doing the Buſineſs, is laid aſide to make way for *The Anſwer to ſeveral Treatiſes*, wherein the Dean (as our Author ſaith) has reduced the Authority of the Governours of the Church to three Heads. And to much purpoſe, if it be arbitrary whether men ſhall enter or continue in any ſuch Society. But we will ſuppoſe them obliged; (which is ſo much more than I need grant to the foregoing Principle, that it is rather directly againſt it) and then the firſt Two Heads may be eaſily allowed; only it is objected, that what the Dean gives with one Hand he takes away with the other; and by his unconſtancy both in Opinion and Practice hath undermined his own Poſitions. To this the Author ſays nothing, nor will I urge it further; but quietly take what is at any time well given. The Third Head is, *An Authority of propoſing Matters of Faith, and directing Men in Religion.* And this is ſuch a cautious mincing Expreſſion, that I cannot tell what to make of it, nor where to find any diſtinct Authority in it. For, as for *propoſing*, I do not know but that any private Perſon upon a juſt Occaſion, and in a lawful manner may do the ſame: And if any thing of that nature be pretended to be peculiar to the Clergy, yet Propoſals in their own Nature are ſo far from inferring an Authority to command their Reception, that they rather imply a Power in thoſe to whom they are propoſed, at Diſcretion to reject them; and ſo in the iſſue gives the Authority to the People. But that I may do him no wrong, beſides *the propoſing Matters of Faith*, there is alſo mentioned an *Authority of directing Men in Religion.* And truly this is a very liberal Grant, which allows as much to the

the Church as was given to the Statues of *Mercury*, which of old were ſet up to direct Paſſengers in their Way, and leaves men much at like Liberty to regard either. I think this far from a Power to make her Declarations Law. And yet our Author with his accuſtomed Confidence affirms, *That it is plain that here is an Authority to Command attributed to the Church, and a Power to enforce her Commands by inflicting of Cenſures*, &c. But to what matters this Authority reacheth, he durſt not acquaint us, for fear this great Mountain ſhould dwindle into a Mole-hill: For, as the Matter is here laid, the Exerciſe of what he calls the Power of the Keys muſt be limited to the Churches Authority in making Rules and Canons about Order and Decency. For in other matters ſhe can only propoſe or direct, which is ſo precarious a ſort of Authority, that I ſee not how her Cenſures can be juſtifiable, where it extends no farther. And thus he hath made ſome kind of Fence about the Church againſt Schiſmaticks, but laid her open to all manner of Hereticks. And thus far I cannot find that abundant Satisfaction, which he tells us we muſt be convinced has been made for any former Miſtakes. For, as for what he repeats concerning the *Treatiſe of the unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, it hath received its Anſwer already; and I am not willing to follow this Man through all his Vagaries, who is willing to ſay any thing but to the Purpoſe.

We are now come to the laſt thing, which is *Epiſcopacy*, as to which it ſeems Mr. *Lowth* had charged the Dean, that he had not aſſerted it *in the number of thoſe Inſtitutions and Practices Apoſtolical, which are perpetual and immutable*. To prove the contrary we are bid to look into the Diſcourſe of *the unreaſonableneſs of Separation*. But why ſhould he ſend us to look that which he could not find himſelf? And I have another Reaſon, why I ſhall not follow the Advice; becauſe I have looked long ago, and could not find it. Though otherwiſe I had no mean eſteem of the Book. And here it is very obſervable, that all the Dean's Treatiſes fail our Author: We may if we pleaſe go pore out our Eyes in the *unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, but not one word is thence cited; and no other Book ſo much as mentioned: And for his laſt Refuge he is forced to fly to the *Ordination Sermon* and *Epiſtle*, which ought not to be admitted for Proof; the Controverſy being what was done before, and the Performance of that acknowledged. And had the Dean's Wrath ſuffered him to have the Ingenuity to acknowledge, what he had the Honeſty to retract,

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and had he not diſparaged ſo excellent a Sermon with that inconſiderate, angry Epiſtle, I am apt to think he had heard no more of Mr. *Lowth*, unleſs in reſpect and kindneſs. But when he endeavours to agree with Mr. *Lowth* in the Sermon, and loads him with Crimes and Reproaches in the Epiſtle, I think he gave him a juſt Provocation in that manner to defend himſelf.

And yet here Mr. *Lowth* hath granted more, than our Author knew how to prove. For he is ſo unlucky, that he would tempt one to think that he had rather a deſign to expoſe than vindicate the Dean. In the Epiſtle Dedicatory, which he is mightily pleaſed to call the Two-Penny Paper, the Dean (as he ſaith) tells us, *That he does now think much more is to be ſaid for the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, than he at that time apprehended*; (that is, when he wrote the *Irenicum*) and I believe the Dean did mean honeſtly, but our Author did unadviſedly to write this paſſage, becauſe it comes not up to the Caſe. For how much that *more* was, or whether it was enough to prove Epiſcopacy of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, is not expreſſed: And it is well known, that very much is often ſaid for a thing, and yet it doth not mount to a juſt proof. And though I ſhould grant more than I need, *viz. That Epiſcopacy is here acknowledged of Apoſtolical Inſtitution*, yet that doth not imply it to be perpetual and immutable, as he would perſwade us. 'Tis true, that it happens to be ſo in this caſe; but he is more beholden to his luck, than any good Cunning for being in the right, for his conſequence is not ſimply good, becauſe the propoſition is not univerſally true, *That whatſoever is of Apoſtolical Inſtitution is perpetual and immutable*: Neither is his diſtinction between Apoſtolical Practice and Inſtitution of any force here: For there were Inſtitutions as well as Practices Apoſtolical, which related to matters temporary and of indifferency: And amongſt ſeveral of theſe he might have found Epiſcopacy herded in the *Irenicum*, though Mr. *Lowth* here mentions only the order of Widows. And I have known ſome perſons, who have refuſed to eat black Puddings, alledging for themſelves that Text, *Acts* 15. 29. which ſure our Author will not deny to be an Apoſtolical Inſtitution; and had he been acquainted with them, do not you think that his way of arguing would have excellently enabled him to convince them of their Folly? He ought not therefore barely from the Inſtitution to infer the immutability, but rather from the terms of the Inſtitu-

tion, the deſign of the Author, the nature of the Thing, or the conſtant judgment of the Church, to have proved it to have been of that ſort of Inſtitutions, which are unalterable. There only remain two more paſſages, and thoſe cited from the *Ordination-Sermon*; in one of which, the Dean mentions the conſent of the Ancients; in the other the judgment of the Church of *England* concerning Epiſcopacy. Now, though I believe the Dean did uſe their Authority both to expreſs and confirm his own ſence, yet in ſtrict arguing it will not follow, that he muſt be of the ſame mind. For it is well known, when Doctor *Owen* readily granted what was the Opinion of the Fathers concerning Schiſm, and yet at the ſame time knock'd them all down at a Blow, moſt Magiſterially (and indeed moſt Impudently) aſſerting, *That they were all out.* But ſince enough might have been fetch'd from that Sermon, which ſpeaks home, and to the preſent purpoſe; nothing of this ought to be urged in prejudice of the Dean, though it diſcover the injudiciouſneſs of our Author in his choice, and how miſerable a Defender he makes, when he becomes any thing ſerious. For my part, in a Caſe of this Nature, I am ſo far *from upbraiding any Man with what he publickly diſown'd*, and much more *for the very diſowning of it* (as the Dean complains) that I think he hath attained to a greater meaſure of that Vertue ſo peculiar to Chriſtianity, Self-denial, than is uſual among Men, who can prevail with himſelf to do it, aud certainly a particular honour is due unto him for it. But then I ought to be ſo juſt to Mr. *Lowth* as to ſay, that upon the beſt ſearch I could make, I could not find any thing, that could fairly amount to ſuch a thing, till that Sermon was publiſhed. And though the Dean, following his judgment in the Sermon, depart from the *Irenicum*, yet in the Epiſtle, gratifying his diſpleaſure, he takes too much pains to defend it. And being he there cauſeleſly falls ſo foul upon Mr. *Lowth*, I think he might juſtly defend himſelf in proving what he had formerly wrote to be true. And indeed he has very hard meaſure; for as to the Tenets controverted I do not find that any accuſe Mr. *Lowth* to be in the wrong; and it is ſomewhat odd at one and the ſame time to acknowledge the goodneſs of his Cauſe, and rail againſt his Perſon. As for the Epiſtolizer, he pretends to no more in the Dean's behalf, than to prove that he had publickly diſowned his juvenile Miſtakes, which if he had done, he might well have charged Mr. *Lowth* with diſingenuity; but failing in his proof, it returns upon him-

himself. For certainly nothing can be more disingenuous than for a Man to clamour against another for maintaining the Right, whilst he himself hath the confidence at the same time to defend the wrong. As for the *Ordination-Sermon*, I grant, that it gives much Satisfaction to the matter of Episcopacy, but not in Mr. *Lowth*'s particular Case, which was concerning what the Dean had wrote and done before. However I am glad that some Satisfaction comes at any time, and I hope it will prove a means to sopite the Quarrel, and that when men meet in their Judgments, they will not maintain a War for the sake of their Passions; for I am ready to perswade my self, that he, who hath thought fit to assert the immutability of Episcopacy, will not devest Church Officers of that power, which will render them uncapable of performing their Trust.

I had now done with the Letter, but that there remains some scattered passages, which though they reach not the merits of the Cause, yet are very Scandalous, and therefore some cursory Notice may be taken of them. He often accuseth Mr. *Lowth* of dealing severely and coursely with the Dean, and therefore thinks he hath just cause to expose his ill Manners (as he calls it) though he doth it much after the same rate, that *Diogenes* trampled on *Plato*'s Pride. To this I return, that I have often observed, that Mankind bears nothing with more impatience, nor thinks of any thing with greater bitterness, than Contempt: A real Injury, or considerable Damage, doth not touch them half so near the quick. And possibly, upon a due examination, good reason may be found at the bottom of this. Now Mr. *Lowth* had dealt fairly; he had privately acquainted the Dean with his Intentions, he had promised upon honest Conditions to expunge his name out of his Book; but to this he received no other Answer than scorn, and some foul Play. And it is likely, that this might make his Pen somewhat the keener: Besides, he is, in nature, no great Courtier; and we Countrymen are accustomed to plain dealing; or, as our Polite Epistolizer phrases it, *Hob-nail'd Proverbs*, to call a Spade, a Spade; and an Error, an Error. And though it may be no great Crime in a justifiable Case for men to act like themselves, yet perhaps it might be very displeasing to this Author, who writes at that capering rate, as if he had been bred at a Dancing School, and at this time kept one.

Mr. *Lowth* had requested, That if an Answer was returned to his Letter, it might be done in *a Scholar-like way* (i. e.) by

Argument. Upon this our Author huffs and ſwaggers, and pours out ſuch a deal of Filth and frothy Stuff, as would turn a Man's Stomach; he is clearly for caſhiering the Man, not arguing the Caſe. And indeed I think he might be very excuſable for not anſwering like a Scholar, who throughout his whole Letter never gives us any occaſion ſo much as to ſuſpect him to be one. But it doth reflect upon the Dean, that he ſhould decline the *Scholar-like way* in a matter of ſuch weight, and ſet up a Fellow, who is mightily pleaſed to think that he ſhall gain the Reputation of ſo vile a Man as *Andrew Marvell.* Men's Humours may be tickled, but their Judgments are rarely ſatisfied with fooling: And ſerious Perſons will be apt to think, that there was great ſcarcity of Argument, where they betake themſelves to ſuch a courſe.

Another Quarrel againſt Mr. *Lowth* is, That he made his Animadverſions no ſooner. But he might have conſidered, that Mr. *Lowth*'s buſineſs was to ſtate the Caſe of *Church Power, and the ſubject wherein it reſided*; which was a matter too nice to be done over-haſtily; and what he Animadverted on the Dean, was only by the way, wherein he had foreſtall'd and laid a prejudice againſt his Opinion; and it was in the Dean's power to prevent any Animadverſions at all, by a civil Anſwer to his firſt Letter: And after all it matters not whether they were ſooner or later, if they be true, unleſs he will admit Error to the Privilege to plead Preſcription: and then he that girds at Mr. *Lowth* for Animadverting on the Dean after Twenty years ſpace, and in his life time, would certainly have been very ſevere (had he been then living) upon *Theophilus Alexandrinus*, and *Epiphanius*, for condemning ſome Opinions of *Origen* above Five times twenty Years after he was dead. But though few may be concern'd for perſorns at that diſtance; yet there are many who would not have ſo eaſily pardoned him upon the ſcore of our Reverend *Hooker*, who muſt neceſſarily have fallen into the ſame condemnation, for taking *T. C.* to Task above Forty Years after he had appeared in Print againſt the Church of *England*; and that too when he had been anſwered long before in every minute particular by *A. Whitgift.* It is well for us, that the judicious Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, was not of the ſame mind with our *Letter-man*, for then we had been deprived of one of the beſt pieces that ever was wrote in that kind.

But he is mightily troubled, and cannot imagine, what ſhould give Mr. *Lowth* the Confidence to attack the Dean. And for once I care not, if I tell him: It was the Dean's printing ſeveral things in Prejudice of the true State and Exerciſe of Church Government; and what gave Mr. *Lowth* that Confidence, would have been any other Man's Warrant to have done the ſame. And he, who had all along laboured to be the Dean's *Compurgator*, could not (had he ſo pleaſed) but have ſeen this, and been ſo far in the right: But, that he might run from that as far as might be, he has deviſed another ſcandalous Reaſon, and with abundance of Circumlocution, and Coffee-houſe Phraſes, tells us to this effect, That Mr. *Lowth* pretending to have been Converſant in ſome of the beſt Authors, had aſſociated himſelf with Men of little or no Skill in that way, that he uſed to dictate to his ignorant Admirers, give Laws to his Companions, and to ſwagger with the great Names of Biſhops, Doctors, Fathers, *&c.* whileſt all ſtood amazed and took him for an Oracle; and this puffed him up, that he thought himſelf an over-Match for the Dean, (*i. e.*) a parcel of Fools made him think himſelf Wiſer than he was, and enterprize beyond his Strength. Whether he hath or not muſt be left to others to judge from the Arguments uſed on both ſides. If the Dean muſt have no Equal, I wiſh him Joy of the Prerogative: But could this Man no otherways raiſe his Reputation than upon the Ruines of others? Could not he make him a *publick Concern*, without making the country Clergy publick *Nimmies*? What Neceſſity was he under to repreſent the Clergy of the prime Dioceſs of *England* as a company of Sots and Dunces, who underſtand little or nothing in their own Buſineſs and Employment? Or doth he really think that whileſt all ſorts of Perſons are really tripping at our Heels, we are ſo ſenſeleſly ſtupid as not to conſider upon what Legs we ſtand? Is it not an effectual way to perſwade People to adhere to the Church of *England* to tell them, that they are led by a parcel of blind Guides, who gape and ſtare at a Diſcourſe of Antiquity, as if News were brought them from another World? 'Twas kindly done thus to ſacrifice us by whole *Hecatomb's* to the Honour of his Idol. Surely if he be not an ignorant, yet he is a very malicious Admirer. But had he thus cauſeleſly blaſted a whole Rank of Men in any regular Times, he would have been enjoined to a ſeverer Pennance, than *to walk to* Highgate *with Peaſe in his Shooes.*

After

After he has thus ſet us out for Fools, he thinks he has frighted us away; and would perſwade us, that Mr. *Lowth* is left as Melancholy as the poor Vicars Cow, and that all have deſerted him. But I can aſſure you, that Mr. *Lowth* is not deſtitute of Friends; and though they are ſuch as are not willing to become Partizans, yet they are Men who dare ſtand their Ground; and are ſo far from being driven from their Judgments by Noiſe and Buffoonry, that they are rather confirmed, ſeeing ſo little of Reaſon appear againſt them. His talk of ſiding ſmells of Faction: But for me, he may be of what Perſons Side he pleaſeth. For my own part, I am without Reſpect of Perſons on the Church of *England*'s ſide, and ſhall neither be of the Dean's, nor any other Man's ſide, farther than they come up to her Conſtitutions: And in Matter of that Concern, the Honour and Intereſt of the Church will with me ever overweigh the Reputation of any ſingle Perſon, be he otherwiſe never ſo great or learned. And by how much more Difficult the Times, or greater the Danger, ſo much the more neceſſary is it with all Carefulneſs to preſerve our Body entire and ſound. For therein, with Gods Bleſſing, conſiſts her Strength and Safety. But if one Man may be allowed to depart from her Conſtitutions in one thing, another will take the like Liberty in another thing, till in the End ſhe either fall in pieces of her ſelf, or become an eaſy Prey to any Adverſary, who cannot want Temptation to ſet upon ſuch a ſhattered, diſjointed Body; which Miſchief, that God would prevent, ſhall be the daily Prayers of,

SIR,

Your obliged Friend

and Servant.

Aug. 1ſt. 1687.

POST-

A POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER.

I Did ſuppoſe that the Author of the Letter in defence of the Dean, had been ſome little flurting Wit of the Town, who had been wheedled in to lend a Lift to a deſperate Cauſe, and ſupply the Penury of Argument with Tricks and Trifling: But ſince I wrote theſe Papers, and had put them out of my own Power, I am credibly informed, that he bears no leſs a Character than D. D. and is withal of conſiderable Reputation. On this Account ſome Reflections upon him may be thought ſevere: But he that will leave his Station, and make himſelf a Buffoon, may thank himſelf, if he be treated accordingly. And I am ſorry, that my Apology muſt be to tell you, That he deſerved ſomewhat worſe, who would hackney out himſelf to defend a particular Intereſt againſt his own Sence, and the true State of the Church; and that he ſtood in need of ſtrong Diverſion from Merriments and Jeſts, whoſe Conſcience flew in his Face for what he forced himſelf to write; for that his private Judgment agrees not with his publick ſhew in this Matter, I could (if one Perſon give me Leave, who I think will not deny it) make appear from his own Letters, if it be required. But he, who will ſuffer himſelf to be a Tool, though otherwiſe ſharp and good, muſt be content to be put upon ſuch ill Services as his Maſters pleaſe; and though he deſerve better Uſage, yet ſhall be allowed neither the Choice nor Judgment of his own Employment. But poſſibly upon better Conſideration he may perceive, that there is much Difference between writing againſt Mr. Jenkins a Nonconformiſt Teacher, and running his Head againſt a downright Church of *England*-Man, who thinks primitive Poſitions and Practice, to be the faireſt Comment on the Charter of Chriſt Jeſus.

Rob. Grove D.D. (wo died Bp. of Chichester.) in his remarks on Mr Jenkins his funerall Sermon on Lazarus Seaman D.D.

Ejected out of Christ's Church Lond: by ye Bartholomew Act. 1662

FAREWEL.

FINIS.